1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

ranny of the Eaſtern conquerors, as the *Lopari*, *Oſtiaks*, and *Samojeds* were driven to the extremities of the North by the encroachments of other *European* nations. If *Kamtſchatka* had not been inhabited before the *Tunguſi* had got a ſettlement, it is probable they would have fixed here, as being ſafer from the dangers of any ſudden attacks of their enemies. 174

Thus it appears likely, that the *Kamtſchadales* lived formerly in *Mungalia* beyond the river *Amur*, and made one people with the *Mungals*, which is farther confirmed by the following obſervations, ſuch as the *Kamtſchadales* having ſeveral words common to the *Mungal Chineſe* language, as their terminations in *ong*, *ing*, *oang*, *chin*, *cha*, *ching*, *kſi*, *kſung*; it would be ſtill a greater proof if we could ſhow ſeveral words and ſentences the ſame in both languages: but not to inſiſt only upon the language, the *Kamtſchadales* and *Mungals* are both of a ſmall ſtature, are ſwarthy, have black hair, a broad face, a ſharp noſe, with the eyes falling in, eyebrows ſmall and thin, a hanging belly, ſlender legs and arms; they are both remarkable for cowardice, boaſting, and ſlaviſhneſs to people who uſe them hard, and for their obſtinacy and contempt of thoſe who treat them with gentleneſs.

CHAP. III.

Of the ANCIENT STATE *of the Natives of* Kamtſchatka. 175 622 554

BEFORE the *Ruſſian* conqueſt they lived in perfect freedom, having no chief, being ſubject to no law, nor paying any taxes; the old men, or thoſe who were remarkable for their bravery, bearing the principal authority in their villages, though none had any right to command or inflict puniſhment.

his limbs contracted. They never have any diſputes about their land or their huts, every one having land and water more than ſufficient for his wants.

Although their manner of living be moſt naſty, and their actions moſt ſtupid, yet they think themſelves the happieſt people in the world, and look upon the *Ruſſians* who are ſettled among them with contempt: however this notion begins to change at preſent; for the old people who are confirmed in their cuſtoms, drop off, and the young ones being converted to the Chriſtian religion, adopt the cuſtoms of the *Ruſſians*, and deſpiſe the barbarity and ſuperſtition of their anceſtors.

In every *Oſtrog*, or large village, by order of her Imperial Majeſty, is appointed a chief who is ſole judge in all cauſes, except thoſe of life and death; and not only theſe chiefs, but even the common people, have their chapels for publick worſhip. Schools are alſo erected in almoſt every village to which the *Kamtſchadales* ſend their children with great pleaſure: by this means it is to be hoped, that their barbarity will be in a ſhort time rooted out.

CHAP.

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

361

View of the village of Sedanka, early 20th century.

The development of trade gave rise to the exploitation of the Itel'mens by merchants. These gave the Itel'mens goods on credit, often against their will; then, if the debt was not paid in time, they doubled or tripled the sum. Often, an Itel'men would have to pay as long as he lived for some small article, such as a knife. This type of trade did not disappear even after the formation of the Russo-American Company (1799). The company sold its wares at prices 10 times higher than their actual value. By the 1860's, the indebtedness of the Itel'mens to this company had risen to the grandiose sum of 150,000 rubles. 175 439 426

The Itel'men economy remained essentially subsistence. The fishing catch went solely for the satisfaction of the fishermen's needs, and none of it was sold. The only articles that had commodity value were furs. Villages were governed by elders, elected by the villagers and approved by the Russian administration. Very often the post of elder was hereditary. Survivals of clan organization were preserved among the Itel'mens until the 20th century. These included elements of collective production and distribution of food products—collective fishing by means of fishtraps, collective seal hunting, division of the carcass of a whale cast up on the shore, the custom of mutual aid, etc. 175 [433] [622] [648] [178] [614] [476]

The first efforts at introducing agriculture were made after the founding of a monastery (the Uspenskaya Pustyn') on Kamchatka, in the first quarter of the 18th century. In the 1740's the first group of Russian peasants was resettled in Kamchatka. Further groups of settlers followed, but agriculture enjoyed small success. The administrative method of introducing agriculture among the Itel'mens could yield no appreciable results with the primitive agricultural techniques of that time. The products of agriculture therefore held a small place in Itel'men economy. Gardening was more successful. In the second half of the 19th century, all Itel'men villages had small gardens, producing potatoes, turnips and horse-radish. But even this gardening was negligible in scope and extremely primitive. The natives were unskilled in tending plants; they dug the soil with wooden hoes, did not know about watering, and so on. 175 648 241 [792]

Cattle were first brought to Kamchatka in 1733, and again, from time to time, in succeeding years. The livestock was kept grazing all year; there was little preparation of hay. Horses were also left to their own devices, and became so wild that they were difficult to catch. They were used chiefly in autumn as riding and pack animals. Wheel transport, such as the cart, 175 648 231

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

317 but objects cannot be ſeen through them.
342 The leaves of talc are more clear, and approach nearer to glaſs; in the mean time they are not ſufficiently tranſparent for perſons without to ſee what is going on within: this is manifeſtly no inconvenience to ſuch low houſes.

622 Every oſtrog is preſided by a chief, called
554 *toyon*. This kind of magiſtrate is choſen
R from among the natives of the country,
177 by a plurality of voices. The Ruſſians
.62 have preſerved to them this priviledge, but the election muſt be approved by the juriſdiction of the province. This toyon is merely a peaſant, like thoſe whom he judges and governs; he has no mark of diſtinction, and performs the ſame labours as his ſubordinates. His office is chiefly to watch over the police, and inſpect the execution of the orders of government. Under him is another Kamtſchadale, choſen

7: Lesseps T-3 (1787-88) 1790 Kamchadal

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R.
177.63

The governors in theſe various oſtrogs are not accountable to one another for their adminiſtration, not even inferior officers to their ſuperiors; the authority of each is limited to the inhabitants of his own diſtrict; which has doubtleſs induced the empreſs to appoint an inſpector general, *capitan iſpravnick*, whoſe buſineſs is to viſit every year all the Kamtſchadale villages, receive their complaints, examine their differences, judge them, and puniſh ſuch as are guilty; in ſhort to maintain order and peace among them. It is alſo a duty of his function to encourage commerce, particularly their fiſhing and hunting, to inſpect the regular payment of their tribute, the ſtock of proviſions of each individual for his own ſupport, and that of his family, the repairs of the bridges and roads, which unfortunately are very few, and kept in very bad order. In a word, the inſpector general ſhould conſider it as incumbent upon him to introduce among

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

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among theſe people the manners and cuſtoms of Ruſſia. This important office was confided, in 1784, to baron de Steinheil, who fixed his reſidence at Nijenei. Affairs calling him elſewhere, he was ſucceeded by M. Schmaleff, who, in accompanying us, was making the tour of his office.

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The government is not purely military; there are ſome tribunals eſtabliſhed for hearing and deciding cauſes and other matters juridically. Such are the tribunals of Tiguil, Ingiga, and Nijenei-Kamtſchatka; they are ſubject to the juriſdiction of the court of Okotſk, in the ſame manner as in Ruſſia the magiſtrates of the ſubordinate towns hold from thoſe of the capital, in whom the final deciſion reſts. There is beſide at Bolcheretſk a kind of conſular juriſdiction, or vocal tribunal, called in Ruſſia *Slovefnoi-ſoud*. The judges are merchants; they take cognizance of all diſputes relating to commerce,

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

291 854 they have a deer ſkin girt, which ſerves as a ſaſh. The women carry their children on their back by means of a ſtring, which paſſes round the forehead of the mother and under the buttocks of the child.

171 622 The toyon of Karagui, at whoſe houſe we lodged, was an old rebel. It was with ſome difficulty he had been brought back to his duty, and he gave us ſome uneaſineſs by his poſitive refuſal to procure us fiſh.

The manners of the inhabitants of this oſtrog are very ſimilar to thoſe of the neighbouring Koriacs. This analogy is as conſpicuous in their idiom as in the dreſs of their children. I had an opportunity of remarking it the day after our arrival.

Underſtanding that there were two hordes of rein deer Koriacs at no great diſtance, we ſent immediately a meſſenger to them to requeſt

.22: Guillemard T-2 (1882) 1886 Kamchadal

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622 The head-man of the village received us on landing—a person of far higher class than any we had hitherto met, and apparently of unmixed Russian blood. He was the keeper of a small store, and owned a capital little log-built house, which we found uninhabited, and apparently intended for the reception of passing travellers. This he at once placed at our disposal. Tired and wet as we were, the prospect of pitching camp in a sea of mud was not a pleasant one, and breaking through our usual rule, we accepted his offer with pleasure. Before long we were enjoying the unaccustomed luxury of a chair, and were able to skin our birds in tolerable comfort for the first time since leaving Petropaulovsky.

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.24 Melcova owes its origin to an experiment. With the view of encouraging the cultivation of the land and of making something more of the country than a mere hunting district, where the inhabitants caught enough salmon during the summer to enable them to go after the sables in the winter, a small colony of Russian peasants were settled here in 1743, who were to devote themselves entirely to agriculture. The result has been to a certain extent successful, for the community is a tolerably flourishing one, and with its population of over two hundred, is the most important settlement in Upper Kamschatka. It may, nevertheless, be doubted if the cultivation of the land has contributed to any great extent to its success, for, from the severity and uncertainty of the climate, the prospects of the farmer are as little encouraging here as they are anywhere, and there are probably the full average of sable-hunters in Melcova. But there are small fields and gardens, and a number of cows, which combine to give the place a more home-like and settled aspect than is usual in most Kamschatkan villages.

563 A great portion of our own interest in the place centred, I must confess, in the store. Here, in a space of about twelve feet by eight, we found flour, tea, sugar, candles, axes, and a few odds and ends for sale, but there were no sables or other furs as we had hoped. We had run short both of tea and sugar, and were

27: Sauer--307-308 T-2 (1789-93) 1802 Kamchadal
116, 164, 177, 622, 651 Russia
636.65

"In 1768 the small-pox carried off 5368 of the inhabitants; and since the departure of Major Behm, the court of the interior (Zemskoi Suc) has discovered, that the Kamtshadals are indebted to government the whole tribute for the unfortunate sufferers by that disorder, and lay claims at present for the debt. The natives produce receipts; but are told, that an ukase from Irkutsk claims the payment. They appointed a delegate to lay their grievances at the feet of their sovereign; he, however, only reached Irkutsk, when he was promised redress, and sent back again: he returned last year, and is the chief of Shapinski village, a very intelligent man, and, I thought, very likely to help me to [308] some information as to their former customs and religion, which are now quite abolished; nor is their language pure."

29:Cochrane T-2 (1821-22) 1824 Kamchadal

dences for the balagans or places which they use for drying their fish. Thus the summer is employed in preparing food against the winter, which latter is taken up in the chase. Beyond this the Kamtchatdale is still the same lazy, drunken, servile animal as formerly. Their ancient language is not forgotten, but is so far out of use that there are few who do not speak Russian. Most of the aborigines are baptized, and may be said to live as the Russians do. The number of real Kamtchatdales who retain their ancient usages is small. They reside on the northern coasts beyond Tygil and Nishney Kamtchatsk. Hospitality is the most striking feature in their character; but they are also distinguished by their strict adherence to truth, and their honesty is proverbial. Without being forward to complain of ill-treatment, they will fearlessly recount it when questioned. They are in part governed by their own Toions or Chiefs, but an annual visit is made to each village by the Ispravnick or Chief Judge, as well for the purpose of collecting sables as of administering justice.

Their dress is the same as formerly, that for the winter season being made of the skins of beasts; but in summer they wear nankeens, and at present there is hardly a Kamtchatdale who does not wear a shirt. The women have also adopted the Russian head-dress, the articles for which are procured from the pedlers at a most exorbitant rate. It is surprising that this people who have now been feeling